

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 IO-14 SAM-01 ACDA-19 AID-20 SR-02

ORM-03 DRC-01 /161 W

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R 241350Z AUG 74

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9656

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN

DOD/DIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 2603

EO 11652: XDGS 1

TAGS: PINT PFOR CY

SUBJ: CLERIDES' INTERNAL STRENGTH; CYPRIOT/US RELATIONS; ELEMENTS OF  
A SOLUTION

1. IN CONVERSATIONS WITH DCM, TWO TRADITIONALLY FRIENDLY  
SENIOR CIVIL SERVANTS (MININT DIRGEN ANASTASSIOU AND FONMIN ACTING  
DIRGEN PANAYIDES) GAVE FOLLOWING INSIGHTS INTO GOC VIEWPOINTS.

2. CLERIDES' POSITION. THROUGHOUT BUREAUCRACY, PRE-COUP  
STATUS QUO ALMOST ENTIRELY RESTORED. ALL DIRECTORS GENERAL BACK IN  
PLACE EXCEPT VENIAMIN, WHOSE HEART ATTACK WAS GENUINE BUT WHO EXPECTS  
TO RESUME FOREIGN MINISTRY POSITION WITHIN TWO WEEKS, WHEN PANAYIDES  
WILL RETURN TO AMBASSADORSHIP BONN. ALL PRE-COUP AMBASSADORS HAVE  
BEEN RECONFIRMED IN POSITIONS, AND ALL FOREIGN MINISTRY POSITIONS  
STAFFED AS BEFORE NB. AT LEAST FORMALLY. SOME ARE ACTUALLY  
WORKING IN PRESIDENTIAL OFFICE.) EVEN PELAGHIAS EXPECTED  
FROM LONDON WITHIN A WEEK TO RESUME PROTOCOL POSITION. ONLY  
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EXCEPTION IS POLICE, WHICH STILL IN CONSIDERABLE DISARRAY.

3. "CLEANING OUT" BUREAUCRACY HAD BEEN A PRIME TARGET OF COUP APPOINTEES. BOTH DIRGENS CONFIRMED THAT RECONSTRUCTION OF BUREAUCRACY, FOLLOWING SUCCESSFUL REVAMPING OF CABINET AND GRADUAL ASSERTION OF MODERATE GREEK OFFICERS' CONTROL OVER NGUARD, SHOWED CLERIDESKDKMSTRENGTH AGAINST RIGHTIST EXTREMISTS. (NOTE: WE WOULD ADD THAT IT ALSO CONFIRMS HOW LITTLE INDIGENOUS BASE COUP HAD HAD.) BOTH NOTED HOWEVER THAN GANGS OF "EOKA" THUGS EXIST IN REAR AREAS, ARE DANGEROUS AND WILL BE HARD TO BRING UNDER DISCIPLINE.

4. CYPRUS/US RELATIONS. NEITHER OFFICIAL BELIEVED CURRENT WAVE OF ANTI-AMERICAN RUMORS, AND PANAYIDES MENTIONED HIS PRINCIPAL REGRET ABOUT AMERICAN POLICY IS THAT WE HAD NOT EARLIER PUT MORE PRESSURE ON BOTH SIDES TO RECONCILE INTERCOMMUNAL DIFFERENCES. (NOTE: REFRESHING. ELSEWHGE, WE ARE BEING BLAMED FOR MASTERMINDING TURKISH ATTACK, PREVENTING GREEK REINFORCEMENT, AND EVEN KILLING OWN AMBASSADOR AND LOCAL EMPLOYEE.) BOTH AGREED WAVE OF ANTI-US FEELING VERY HIGH, BUT PANAYIDES TRIED TO PUT IN CONTEXT BY CITING NEED FOR SCAPEGOATS, SAID FEELINGS AGAINST ATHENS AND MAKARIOS ALSO WIDESPREAD. HE REMARKED THAT CYPRIOTS ARE MERCURIAL, WAVE WOULD PASS. HE SAID THAT PART OF OUR PROBLEM IS THAT CYPRIOTS STILL BELIEVE IN US OMNIPOTENCE, THINK WE COULD STOP TURKS IF WE WISHED. (ANASTASSIOU HIMSELF THOUGHT WE SHOULD USE SIXTH FLEET, LATER RE-TREATED TO ARGUMENT WE SHOULD COOPERATE IN UN MILITARY ACTION TO STOP TURKS.)

5. BOTH AGREE THAT IS IS IN OUR COMMON INTEREST TO AVOID IRRATIONAL ANTAGONISMS, EVEN IF THERE ARE AT PRESENT REAL POLICY DIFFERENCES. BOTH OFFERED ONLY ONE SUGGESTION: TO AVOID INsofar AS POSSIBLE PUBLIC US STATEMENTS WHICH ARE USED AS EVIDENCE OF US ILL INTENT. BOTH CITED RECENT SCHLESINGER STATEMENT THAT WE HAD NOT EXPECTED TURKS TO GO SO FAR (WHICH IS ALMOST UNIVERSALLY INTERPRETED HERE AS EVIDENCE THAT WE HAD CONDONED THEIR GOING PART WAY), PLUS DEPT'S AUG 13 STATEMENT EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR GREATER TURK CYPRIOT AUTONOMY (DCM EXPLAINED CONTEXT OF LATTER.) ANASTASSIOUS ALSO CITED PRESS REPORTS OF ASST SECRETARY HARTMAN'S STATEMENT ON HILL THAT USG WOULD NOT SUSPEND AID TO TURKEY BECUASE OF CYPRUS PROBLEM.

6. ELEMENTS OF A SOLUTION. ANASTASSIOU SOMEWHAT WISTFULLY  
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PRESSED FOR RETURN TO MULTIPLE CANTON CONCEPT TO AVOID FORCED REMOVALS. BOTH CERTAIN TURKS WOULD DQUEUEZE GREEKS OUT OF TURKISH AREAS. FOR BOTH, HOWEVER, CRITICAL POINT SEEMED TO BE EXTENT OF AREA WHICH TURKS HAD SEIZED. BOTH ASSUMED THAT CLERIDES WOULD TRY TO LIVE WITHOUT FORMAL SOLUTION RATHER THAN SIGNING AGREEMENT WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL TURKISH WITHDRAWALS. BOTH LIKED IDEA OF CLERIDES/DENKTASH NEGOTIATION ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES, AND PANAYIDES

CITED PROBLEM OF 160,000 GREEK REFUGEES AS MOST EXPLOSIVE PROBLEM ON ISLAND. HE HOPED FOR CONTINUED US HELP FOR THEM EVEN IF WE SEEM TO GET NO THANKS. (NOTE: OFFICIAL FIGURE IS 200,000.) HE HAD ONE SPECIFIC POINT: FAMAGUSTA. ONE-FOURTH OF TOTAL REFUGEES FROM CITY. EVEN IF GREEKS HAD TO RETURN UNARMED AND WITH UNFICYP SUPERVISION, AND EVEN WITH TURKS HOLDING PORT AND PART OF CITY, RETURN OF THOSE REFUGEES WOULD MUCH IMPROVE PRESENT TEMPER, AND HE WONDERED WHETHER TURKS COULD BE PERSUADED TO MAKE THAT GESTURE. BROWN

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